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Author(s): Laurence Picken
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8 APRIL 1954

Instrumental Polyphonic Folk Music in Asia Minor

LAURENCE PICKEN

Chairman

FRANK HOWES, C.B.E. (PRESIDENT)

THE POLYPHONIC FIDDLING of the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor is remarkable enough as a type of folk music; but it is the more remarkable to find such polyphony within the territory of the Islamic musical world, the territory of the purely homophonic (or at most mildly heterophonic) classical Perso-Arabo-Turkic tradition. From passages in the surviving treatises of Al-Kindī[1] (ninth century) and Ibn Sīnā[2] (eleventh century) it is known that these authors were familiar with fourths, fifths and octaves and their use; and in the Mūrişţus MSS quoted by Farmer,[3] triads are mentioned and their affective properties described. But these are the only traces of such knowledge in the history of a tradition which as it reaches us today is homophonic. The nature of this tradition has often been misunderstood, as is shown by such a statement as: the Arabs never got beyond the stage of homophony.[4] This implies that homophony as practised in the Islamic world is primitive, or if not primitive is yet a stage in the evolution of harmony. Either view is false; false to that which can be observed all over the world at the present time, and historically false as well. The music of Islam is a music of high sophistication, and its sophistication was well established by the ninth century. The classical music of the Islamic world developed as a highly self-conscious art of melodic composition; and even

1 Al-Kindī: in H. G. Farmer, *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, London, 1930, chapter 8 and appendix 45.
2 Ibn Sīnā: in Farmer, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* See also: Baron R. d'Erlanger, *La Musique arabe*, Paris, 1935, tom. II, pp. 230, 231.
3 H. G. Farmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 105.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 107.

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today the powers of melodic invention required of the most mediocre performer in the Islamic world are such as we of the West can only begin to appreciate after an apprenticeship. Al-Fārābī[5] and Ibn Sīnā[6] both give accounts of the composition of melodies; and in the Aš-šarafiyyah of Ṣafiyu-d-dīn[7] from the late thirteenth century we have an account with illustrations, including remarkable toccata-like cyclic figurations, some of which occur already in Al-Fārābī.

It was Idelsohn[8] who first demonstrated for the Islamic modes (*maqam*) that a *maqam* is a collection of melodic formulæ; it is also a set of properties or functions relating members of a series of notes. The type of purely melodic composition which exists only to display the properties of a particular *maqam* is in no need of harmony; indeed, any sort of triad harmony applied to such a melodic line makes nonsense of the very properties which determine the mode. Moreover, there is no reason why such a melodic art should ever generate harmony in the Western sense; and the history of music in Islam, in India and in China, clearly shows that sophisticated homophony cannot be regarded as a stage in the evolution of harmony. It is itself the end of a line of evolution, not a point of departure.

The discovery that within one great region of Islamic culture, namely, in Anatolia, the peasant population is highly appreciative of particular combinations of sounds presented simultaneously to the ear was made by Professor Sarīsözen of the National Conservatoire at Ankara. On collecting-trips in central Anatolia, Sarīsözen[9] found, in the neighbourhood of Sīvas, but remote from the city, that the performers on long-necked lutes (saz or bağlama) played in parallel fifths, occasionally adding a third note. The tuning of these instruments, from the top string downwards, is d′, g, a. On the two upper strings, therefore, it is possible to play in continuous parallel fifths, sometimes striking the third string for variety or to reinforce the tonic. In villages nearer the city, and in the

5 Al-Fārābī: in d'Erlanger, *op. cit.*, Paris, 1930, tom. I, p. 145 *et seq*; tom. II, 1935, pp. 1-101.

6 Ibn Sīnā: in d'Erlanger, *op. cit.*, 1935, tom. II, p. 156 *et seq.*

7 Ṣafiyu-d-dīn: in d'Erlanger, *op. cit.*, 1938, tom. III, p. 152 *et seq.*

8 A. Idelsohn, 'Die Maqamen der arabischen Musik', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, *15*, 1-63 (Leipzig, 1914).

9 M. Sarīsözen, 'Çok sesli müzik ve bağlamalar', *Güzel Sanatlar*, 117-124 (Ankara, 1944).

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city itself, the tune is played on the top string only, and the two lower strings provide a complex drone of a major second, all the strings being struck together. In reply to the question: 'Can you play on one string only?' the villagers answered: 'I can if you wish, but it is cold', or 'it is tasteless', and in the folk vocabulary two strings struck simultaneously are said to ache together.

Sarīsözen first encountered instrumental diaphony on three-course long-necked lutes (two strings to each course), but two-course lutes are known, and occasionally parallel fourth diaphony is practised. Parallel fifth diaphony was also found in the provinces of Malatya and Diyarbakīr, and in each instance parallel fifths were observed to give way to melody with complex drone in the towns.

The collections of the Ankara Conservatoire show that organum-like parallels in Anatolia are not limited to instrumental music. In a recording made at Tunceli,[10] two male voices at the fifth are accompanied by a long-necked lute which provides a reiterated drone; a fiddle plays the melody in the ritornelli:

In relation to this rural taste for fourth and fifth parallels, it is perhaps significant that Sarīsözen also found evidence of appreciation of the overtones produced on straight flutes. Round Çorum, for example, the shepherd's pipe, an open tube without a mouthpiece (the kaval), is played in such a way as to produce strong 1st and 2nd partials simultaneously with the fundamental; the pipe is said to snore. If a performer fails to produce this effect he will excite comment: 'If I whistled with my mouth it would be more striking', or 'What difference is there between his kaval-playing and an ordinary whistle-flute (düdük)?'

In various parts of Turkey, double pipes are to be found. These may be double whistle-flutes or double clarinets; they may be two pipes lashed together, or they may be carved from

[10] Devlet Konservatuvarī Folklor Arşivi: Tunceli, 1944; Pl. No.: 1247a, Gül türküsü (Süleyman Kaya, Ismail Oğuz).

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a single block of wood, like the Yugoslav dvojnica. Sarīsözen[11] has transcribed a dance tune for a double reed-pipe (çifte) from Ereğli (Zonguldak), remarkable for the pendulating drone which gives a dynamic quality to the harmony.

The polyphonic music with which the present study is mainly concerned occurs exclusively in the North Eastern corner of Turkey, between Samsun and the Eastern frontier. It is confined to two instruments: a three-stringed fiddle and a small bagpipe. The latter has two chanters, tuned in unison; both reeds are clarinet-type reeds, and there is no separate drone. In bagpipe tunes collected by Professor Saygun[12] in Artvin, one chanter is used as a drone, interrupted to give rhythmic incision to the tune; but examples from Gümüşhane, transcribed by Sarīsözen[11] and those collected by me in Hemşin, display a very remarkable type of 2-part polyphony. The voices move in contrary, direct or oblique motion, with 2nds, 3rds, 4ths and 5ths between them; 5ths, 4ths and 2nds may be points of rest.

Wherever the bagpipe tunes have been collected in Anatolia, they are found to be not more than two bars in length and sometimes only one bar long. Their range is necessarily limited, since the largest number of finger-holes is five, and one chanter usually has but three holes. The rhythms are subtle and difficult to grasp; one of Sarīsözen's transcriptions is in 10/16, divided into two groups of 5/16, and such irregular rhythms are common. A remarkable feature of the bagpipe music is the brevity of different village traditions, each of which is represented by a single tune, not more than two bars in length, and its variants. The pipers of the Hemşin valley, for example, know the traditions of some half-dozen villages, some north, some south, of the watershed of the Tatos Dağlarī; each of these traditions is of this extraordinarily limited character.

If we descend the Hemşin valley towards Pazar, we leave the territory of the pipers and enter that of the fiddlers. The two regions are not without contact, for the fiddlers in the villages on the lower slopes play fiddle-versions of the bagpipe traditions. The fiddle itself, the kemençe, is a short-necked bowed lute without a finger-board. The peg-disk, neck and body are one piece of wood—walnut, mulberry or plum, the

[11] M. Sarīsözen, 'Kaval, tulum, çifte', *Güzel Sanatlar*, 106-110 (Ankara, 1942).
[12] A. A. Saygun, *Rize, Artvin ve Kars havâlisi türkü, saz ve oyunlarī hakkīnda bazi malûmat*, Istanbul, 1937.

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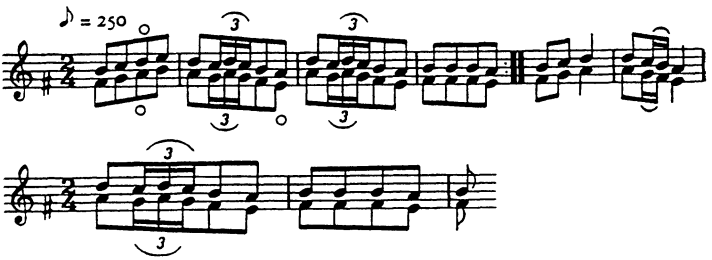
body being hollowed out until the sides are less than an eighth of an inch (about 2 mm.) thick. The sound-board is coniferous wood (Blue Spruce) and of the same thickness. The pegs (walnut or other hard wood) are inserted from the front. The strings may all be iron wire, or the lower two may be sheep-gut. The instrument bears a marked resemblance to the mediaeval lira. The strings are stopped with the flesh of the fingers, not by lateral contact with the nails or with the back of the fingers. There is no *vibrato*. The bow is straight, with a loose loop of horse-hair, the tension of which is controlled by the second and third fingers of the right hand; it is held palm upwards. Since the instrument is supported by the left hand only and played as the fiddler leads the dance, it can only be played in the first position with a possible half-position shift. If the fiddler sits, he holds the fiddle in the viol-position, but even when sitting he will raise the instrument in one hand from time to time in order to take advantage of the greater resonance. Since the strings are tuned in fourths, fourth parallels can be played with ease.[13]



When the tune is on the top string, the middle, or middle and bottom strings may be used as a drone. Similarly, when the melody descends to the lower strings, the top string may be used as an inverted pedal. Here is a tune for a round dance, the horon, from Pazar, the two halves of which illustrate both practices. The change from playing on strings 1 and 2 to playing on strings 2 and 3, or vice versa, is facilitated by rotating the fiddle about its long axis.

[13] Devlet Konservatuvarī Folklor Arşivi: Çoruh, 1950, Pl. No.: 1668 B 2, Viçe horon havasī (Mustafa Şişman).
In this and other examples, the open strings are marked at their first appearance. Slurs indicate the bowing. Pitches are only approximately accurate.

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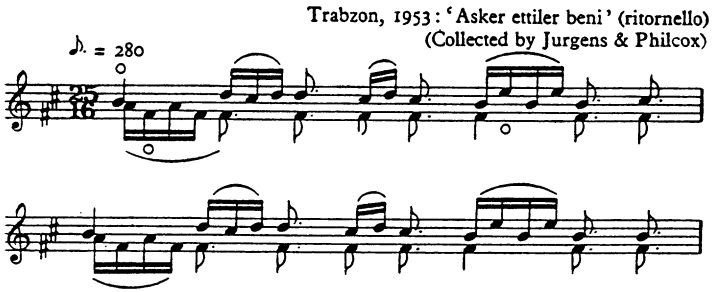
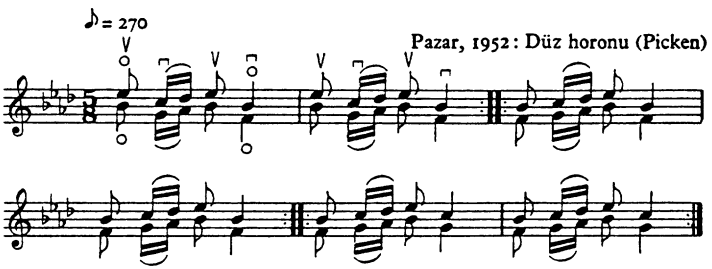
The following example, recorded in Trabzon, shows a simple lower drone on the bottom open string. (The time-values in this transcription are tentative).



The relatively slow tunes from Pazar are bowed with one bow to each beat (in general) and with occasional slurs of two beats to one bow. The first beat in the bar may be an up-bow:



Or a down-bow:

These are irregular rhythms (5/8) at speeds of *ca.* 300 quavers to the minute. Further to the west, in Rize and in the province of Trabzon, the semiquaver must be taken as the

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unit, and metronome speeds may reach 900. The bowing is then based on the semiquaver beat, as shown by the following example transcribed from a recording by Piçoğlu Osman[14]:

The metrical unit is 14/16, subdivided into (5 + 9)/16 (or into 5 + 4 + 5)/16. One bow-stroke occasionally covers two semi-quavers. There is clearly a constant shift in the bowing, so that as a phrase is repeated its bowing is reversed. In this example the metronome speed is *ca.* 690; examples transcribed by Saygun[15] show speeds ranging from 428 to 906. Limited observation suggests that the dancers to such high speed irregular rhythms resolve irregular measures into two unequal durations to each of which they take a step: for example, 5/8 is resolved as 2+3 or 3+2; 7/16, as 3+4 or 4+3 and so on.

It is clear from the limitations of the instrument that if a melody is doubled at the fourth its range cannot exceed a tetrachord, pentachord or hexachord at most. The dance tunes are in fact constructed from a number of small melodic units, none of which has a range greater than this, and frequently the range is less. In spite of the restricted melodic range, interest is maintained by skilful melodic variation; and the music generates a feeling of breathless tension through constantly-changing irregular rhythms and by the most drastic and abrupt modulation possible, namely, by a sudden shift to a half-position—a modulation unthinkable in classical Turkish music.

The fiddlers assert that they do not make use of the modes (*maqam*) of classical Turkish music. In fact, though they rarely use tetrachordal structures including an augmented second, they commonly use tetrachords with the semitone below, in the middle, or occasionally on top, and such tetrachords of course occur in the classical modes. Inasmuch as more is

[14] Columbia RT 17596: Sik Sara Horon Havasī (Turkish Recording).

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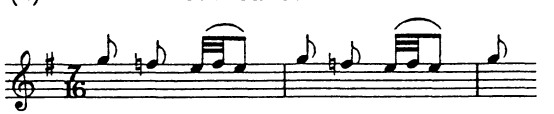
implied by *maqam* than tetrachordal structure, however, the fiddlers are justified in disclaiming use of the classical modes. In the tetrachord A B C D, for example, the B may be a comma flat; this is the tetrachord known as uşşak in the classical system. Saygun[15] transcribes an example in which both the B and C are consistently a comma flat. The tetrachord with the semitone below is also common in the fiddle-music; this is the classical tetrachord kürdi, equivalent to the ancient Dorian tetrachord. In many instances, the tunes are less than a tetrachord in range, however, so that modal comparisons become meaningless; even when their range is four notes, the lowest note may be a leading note, not the final.

The Sīk sara horon havasī recorded by Piçoğlu Osman[14] may serve as an example of the organisation of an extended dance-tune, improvised from melodic elements belonging to the Trabzon tradition. A complete transcription of a horon will be found in Saygun.[15] Piçoğlu's horon-tune is a rondo, based on four short tunes and their variants. If (1) is in the tonic key, (2) is in the supertonic and (3) is in the key a semitone above the tonic. (4) is referred to briefly just before the end of the recording. (It must not be forgotten that this is a studio recording, not a recording of an actual dance.) (2) undergoes the greatest variation: it is stripped of its lower voice; stripped of its ornamentation and compressed; finally, even the shortened version is reduced to a bare rhythm beaten out with the wood of the bow on the edge of the fiddle. (1) is shown on p. 79. Here are two variants of (2):

Here is (2) in its most reduced form:



[15] A. A. Saygun, Yedi Karadeniz Türküsü ve bir horonu, *Istanbul Konservatuvarī Folklor Külliyati, Halk Türküleri*, 15ci defter Istanbul, no date, p. 51.

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(3) two variants:

(4)

It is clear that (2) and (3) provide relief from the strenuous bowing of (1). The sequence of these is as follows: 1 2 1, 2 1, 2 3 1, 2 1, 2 3 1, 2 1, 2 3 2 3 1, 3 4 1, 2 1, 2 3; but the duration of each unit, that is, the number of consecutive repetitions, varies at each return. In general, the rate of change of theme increases as the dance progresses. The sequence 3 1 3 4 1 exemplifies the method of increasing tension by half-position shifts.

There is one part of the world where music almost indistinguishable from this, though played on somewhat different instruments, can be heard, namely, the country of the Türkmen, round Bokhara and Merv. A considerable body of music from these people was collected by Uspenski and has been transscribed, described and analysed by Belaiev.[16] The instruments are a two-stringed, long-necked lute, dütar, identical with one type of Anatolian lute (ikitelli[9]), and a three-stringed fiddle, tuned in fourths, a spike-fiddle (rebab) (not a kemençe), known as güdjak. Unfortunately, no recordings of this music are available. On paper the resemblance to the lute and fiddle music of rural Turkey is extremely close. Belaiev and Uspenski found, moreover, as did Sarīsözen in Turkey, that the urban music (in Bokhara and Khiva, for example) is homophonic. That is to say, in Türkmenistan, as in Anatolia, these various types of polyphony, played on a variety of instruments, are strictly rural in distribution. In both areas they vanish in the

[16] V. Uspenski i V. Belaiev, *Turkmenskaia Muzika*, Moscow, 1928.

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towns: urban homophony replaces rural polyphony. The same is true for the fiddle music in Anatolia; from Giresun westward the fiddle ceases to be played polyphonically in the coastal towns.

The commonly held view that homophony is a relatively primitive condition of music out of which polyphony has evolved is a view largely determined by the history of written music in Western Europe. The observation that makes this view untenable is, that for a great many peoples, widely scattered over the surface of the globe, often in inaccessible regions, apparently remote from the possibility of cultural contact with the West, music *is* polyphony. This first became clear from the material collected together by Schneider,[17] but many have contributed to this knowledge. A readily accessible account of Georgian vocal folk-polyphony by Belaiev[18] has received attention from Reese,[19] but before this, the preliminary reports of Robert Lach,[20] as well as his full reports on Georgian[20] and on Mingrelian, Abkhaz, Svan and Ossetic folk song,[20] made plain that comparatively near at hand in the Caucasus there is a region of folk-polyphony of the greatest interest.

Belaiev's suggestion 'that Europe did not invent polyphony but acquired it elsewhere in ready-made form' has been justly criticised by Reese,[19] who points out that 'part-music may have grown spontaneously among Europeans as well as among others'. There are in fact many traces of ancient folk-polyphony in Europe; for example, those in the Balkans. In the past, it has been possible to argue that these were degenerate offspring of European art-polyphony; but the evidence from this vast area of Asia Minor, the Caucasus and Türkmenistan, as well as from remoter regions, suggests that this view is mistaken.

The variety of instruments used in rural polyphony in this area seems to suggest that the practice is ancient, and indeed

[17] M. Schneider, *Geschichte der Mehrstimmigkeit*, Berlin, I, 1934; II, 1935.

[18] V. Belaiev, 'The Folk-Music of Georgia', *The Musical Quarterly, 19*, 417-433 (1933).

[19] G. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1940.

[20] R. Lach, 'Die Musik der türk-tatarischen, finnisch-ugrischen und Kaukasus-Völker, u.s.w.', *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 50*, 23-50 (1920); 'Gesänge russischer Kriegsgefangener, III. Bd. Kaukasusvölker, I. Abt. Georgische Gesänge', *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, 204*, 4. Abhg. pp. 1-254 (1928); *ibid.* 2. Abt. 'Mingrelische, abchasische, swanische und ossetische Gesänge', *Sitzungsberichte, 205*, 1. Abhg. pp. 1-63 (1931).

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lutes are of great antiquity in this area. Long-necked fretted lutes, resembling present-day bağlamas of Asia Minor are known from Hittite bas-reliefs of the first millenium B.C. We do not know how many strings they had; but, at whatever stage strings tuned at different pitches were attached to a long-necked instrument, it seems likely that they can only have been added for two reasons: to provide a drone; or to enable parallels to be played. On a long, narrow-necked and fretted instrument there would seem to be no other possible use for them. Sarîsözen[9] has suggested that there is no mechanical reason why Hittite lutes should not have been played polyphonically. There is no evidence that they were played in this way, but we cannot rule out that possibility.

Were the kemençe the only instrument played polyphonically in Turkey, it might be argued, in view of the geographical limitation of the instrument to part of the territory of the late Byzantine Empire of Trebizond, that this polyphony is a survival of early mediaeval Western European polyphony. But the kemençe is not the only such instrument, and polyphony exists in rural areas far from the range of maritime contact with Genoa or Venice. Furthermore, the area of rural polyphony extends far beyond Turkey to the Türkmen country, East of the Caspian Sea. In view of the world-wide distribution of primitive polyphony, it would seem improbable in the highest degree that the music of the Türkmen is European in origin.

If we accept the evidence for ancient polyphonic practice in the folk music of Europe, we are faced with the question: why does polyphony appear relatively late in the written music of the Christian Church? The situation in Turkey throws perhaps some light on this, for there can be no doubt that the classical homophonic tradition of Islamic music is culturally dominant to folk-polyphony in Anatolia. There is good evidence that the early branches of Christian chant were in some degree the heirs to Syrian chant,[19] that is to say, to a homophonic tradition which by the year 500, according to Besseler,[21] had reached a state of systematisation comparable with that of the Islamic modes. Thus the Christian liturgy was wedded to a homophonic tradition analogous to that of Islamic music. Bearing in mind the present distribution of musics in Turkey, it is reasonable to assume that liturgical

[21] H. Besseler, *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Potsdam, 1935.

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homophony in Europe was dominant to 'barbaric' polyphony, just as Christian culture was dominant to pagan culture in the centres of urban civilisation. It has been suggested before now[19] that folksong elements were absorbed by plain chant; and it is conceivable that the emergence of Church polyphony was due essentially to the same process. The rise of harmony in the West may be regarded as the gradual emergence of a sophisticated barbarism, musically speaking. There is a sense in which, in the light of history and of comparative musicology, Western music is more closely related to the music of 'primitive' peoples than to that of the other great civilisations of the world. It is perhaps significant that the *Musica Enchiriadis*, the first important source of our knowledge of the practice of organising, appears at a time (ninth century) when the cleavage between Rome and the Eastern Church is well established.

The essentially primitive character of European folk song was first recognised by Sachs,[22] and it was the same author who showed the intimate connection between this primitiveness and the rise of tonic-and-dominant harmony in the West. It is suggestive that the first documentary evidence of polyphonic 'barbarism' asserting itself relates to the periphery of the European land-mass, remote from the ancient cultural area of the Mediterranean. It is contained in Giraldus Cambrensis and in the Hymn to St. Magnus.

The parallel between the distribution of musics in Turkey and the early mediaeval West must not be pressed too far; Turkish rural polyphony is not identical with Balkan rural polyphony, for example, and there is no reason to suppose that it is closely related to any ancient rural music in Western Europe. The distribution of musics in Anatolia only provides a suggestive analogy. It shows beyond dispute, however, that contrary to what might be expected, rural polyphony, including the practice of parallel fourths and fifths, can exist side by side with more or less sophisticated urban homophony.

Irrespective of any theory of the folk-origin of European polyphony, the living tradition of the Black Sea fiddlers is a musical phenomenon of the highest importance. We shall never know what an illiterate fiddler of the early Middle Ages played on his lira; but the polyphonic fiddling of those who

[22] C. Sachs, *The Rise of Music in the Ancient World, East & West*, New York, 1943.

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live on the Black Sea coast, in the belt of hazelnut cultivation between Giresun and Hopa, may without exaggeration be described as quasi-mediaeval. The practice of the Black Sea fiddlers shows us how much may be elaborated and transmitted in a musical tradition innocent of theory or notation; and how little we are justified in assuming that the secular musician of the early Middle Ages was either technically unskilled or unfamiliar with polyphony.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is a pleasure to record my debt to the Turkish Ministry of Education for facilities extended to me during a collecting-trip in August, 1952; to the Director of the National Conservatoire in Ankara for many courtesies and for permission to draw on material in the Folklore Archives; to those Turkish musicians and musicologists who have given me their time and the benefit of their knowledge and experience; to pipers and fiddlers who gave me their music, and the good people of the Black Sea coast who gave me companionship and hospitality; and not least to a scholar and friend, the late Professor Orhan Burian.

DISCUSSION

The Chairman, while professing himself bewildered by some of the Lecturer's conclusions, recalled that Sachs had dropped the first bombshell when he maintained there was no continent without traces of primitive polyphony, which contradicted the theory of evolution from a musically simple to a complex type. Dr. Picken's paper implied a reversal of the accepted thesis that polyphony has evolved from homophony.

Mr. Inglis Gundry remarked that the illustration on the organ[23] seemed to resemble the example of *organum purum* given in Volume I of the *Oxford History of Music*. Was there any connection between the aulos and the instruments described by the Lecturer? The Lecturer replied that double pipes were widely distributed over Turkey and the Balkans and might take the form of double clarinets or double whistle-flutes. With regard to the fingering of the double chanter of the bagpipe, the Lecturer replied that each finger was placed across both chanters, so that two holes at the same level lay under one

[23] Sarīsözen's transcription of a koçek havasī for çifte. See p. 76.

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finger. This did not necessarily mean that both holes were closed simultaneously. In the instrument shown, the top two holes on one chanter were blocked with wax, thus limiting the range. A skilful piper could obtain the same result without using wax by differentiating between the contact made by the first and second joints of one finger on the subjacent finger-holes.

Captain Broadwood expressed the view that some of these rhythms resembled those heard in the South of Spain, but wondered if it could be assumed that polyphony was earlier than monody.

Mr. Alan Lomax, in support of the Lecturer's view, said that a similar distribution of rural polyphony and urban monody was observable in certain areas in the U.S.A. An analogous contrast existed in Formosa between the astonishing vocal polyphony of the ('primitive') tribes in the mountainous interior and the purely homophonic Sino-Japanese music of the ('civilised') urban population of the coastal towns. With reference to non-European musics we constantly misused the words 'barbaric' and 'primitive'. Classical Turkish music, for example, which we tended to think of as 'primitive' in relation to Western music, because it is homophonic, exhibits a more sophisticated conception of melody as an art than does Western music. Again, the music of Australian aborigines, usually regarded as a culturally primitive people, displays rhythms of great complexity. We must beware of allowing cultural prejudice to influence our description of non-European musics. It was clear from comparative studies that a belt of folk-polyphony runs from the Caucasus to the Western coast of the Iberian Peninsula, following the line of the Alps and the Pyrennees, so that there could be little doubt that polyphony existed in parts of Europe earlier than has hitherto been supposed.

Miss Violet Alford asked whether the 'horon' was related to the 'oro' of Bulgaria, and whether it was a chain-dance. The Lecturer replied that the words 'horo', 'oro', and 'kolo', from the Balkans, are all likely to be phonetic equivalents of 'horon'. The 'horon' was danced either as a closed or open circle.

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